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ABSTRACT

FOUR POSITION PAPERS ON LANGUAGE EDUCATION FOR THE DISADVANTAGED SERVE AS THE BASIS FOR THE SECOND STAGE OF A THREE-STAGE SEMINAR AND UNDERSCORE THE NEED FOR A NEW LOOK AT THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH, ITS FUNCTION, AND ITS RECORDED CONTRIBUTION TO THE CULTURE. HAROLD B. ALLEN'S PAPER, "WHAT ENGLISH TEACHERS SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THEIR LANGUAGE," IS FOLLOWED BY THAT OF WILLIAM LABOV, "THE NON-STANDARD VERNACULAR OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY: SOME PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS." "THE GRAMMARS OF ENGLISH AND THE LANGUAGE ARTS" AND "VALUES IN THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH AND THE LANGUAGE ARTS" ARE WRITTEN BY H. A. GLEASON, JR. AND CARL A. LEFEVRE RESPECTIVELY. (RL)

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THE NDEA NATIONAL INSTITUTE
for advanced study in teaching disadvantaged youth

POSITION PAPERS FROM LANGUAGE EDUCATION FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

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What English Teachers Should Know About Their Language
Harold B. Allen..... 2

The Non-Standard Vernacular of the Negro Community: Some Practical Suggestions
William Labov..... 4

The Grammars of English
H. A. Gleason, Jr. 7

Values in the Teaching of English and the Language Arts
Carl A. Lefevre..... 11

This study developed from the participation of Temple University in the Inter-Institutional Program Development (IIPD) Project of the NDEA National Institute for Advanced Study in Teaching Disadvantaged Youth

WHAT ENGLISH TEACHERS SHOULD KNOW ABOUT THEIR LANGUAGE

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In preparing this position paper on what the English teacher from kindergarten through secondary school should know about the English language, I find myself imagining that I am forty years younger with a child about to enter school next September. As that child goes from teacher to teacher through the grades and the high school, I think now of what I would like each teacher to know about our language, not just for the sake of my own child but for the sake of all others in each class as well. And if I think this of those teachers, I think it of all English teachers.

Surely the depth of desirable knowledge would vary between the first grade teacher and the twelfth grade teacher; yet the areas of that knowledge would be essentially the same for every teacher. So when I use the term "teacher" I mean by it every teacher of English and the language arts in the whole K-12 sequence.

This knowledge is not necessarily to be passed on to students. The teacher—and this is a truism—must know more than the student. The knowledge to which I refer may sometimes be transmitted to the class, but more often is simply reflected in the attitude of the teacher, in how the teacher deals with language material, and even in how the teacher deals with composition and literature.

Eight areas of knowledge I would suggest as desirable.

First is the nature of our language—of language in general and of English in particular. Language is not a collection of words; it is a set of subsystems interlocking and interrelated to form a marvelously intricate major system. One of its obvious subsystems is that of sound patterns, the phonemic system, as it exists in relation to the writing, or graphemic, subsystem. I would not want my child coming home from school with the notion that sounds are values of letters, or that a consonant is something you see on a piece of paper, or that a word should be pronounced in a certain way because it is spelled that way. I would want the teacher to have an elementary understanding of the sound system of English and of how our speech organs operate when we talk. Such understanding would prevent condemnation of speech forms that result from normal processes of assimilation. And if this understanding includes, as it should, awareness of American English pitch and stress and pause patterns, then it will figure importantly in the teaching of reading, of some punctuation, and, for some students, in the teaching of standard spoken English.

Several subsystems combine to constitute the area of grammar: that is, the area of language description. Today research in this area is moving so rapidly that the teacher must have familiarity with more than one grammar. As background and basis for judging the content of textbooks and exercises that still are used in many schools, the teacher should certainly have some awareness of school traditional grammar and its historical basis in the philosophical studies of the ancient Greeks. He should know the basis of the school definitions of parts of speech and the reason for the preoccupation with them rather than with the makeup of the sentence as a whole. The teacher then must have at least a historical comprehension of the language studies in the nineteenth century that produced such works as those of Curme and Jespersen.

But he should also be aware of the principles of what is called structural grammar and of its recent contributions to our insights about our language. The structuralist can teach him that on its surface, the sentence appears to be a sequence not of words but of more or less complicated structures, and that more than one kind of structure can fit into a given place in the ordinary sequence. The structuralist can introduce him to the contrast between formal parts of speech or form-classes and positional or syntactic parts of speech. He can introduce him to the theory of immediate constituents as a way to reveal some of the secrets of sentence formation and as a way to help students move on to better writing.

Yet today the teacher will be at a disadvantage if he does not also have at least a working knowledge of the basic principles of another and even more powerful grammar, transformational generative grammar. This knowledge will lead him to the recesses of the deep structure of the sentence and hence to an understanding of those relationships between one sentence and another that are called transformations. Because transformational grammatical theory is dynamic rather than static, the teacher can derive from it a certain measure of help in his task of guiding students to use the language with increasing maturity. Already some significant research—that of Hunt at Florida State, Griffin at Peabody, and Bateman and Zidonis at Ohio State—testify to the validity of this very practical promise for the future.

Although this much grammatical knowledge will serve, the teacher should know also that there are other grammars being prepared and that each has certain advantages. Transformational grammarians should not take him in with their evangelical zeal for their particular grammar as the "be-all and the end-all." Other valuable contributions to our understanding of English will probably come from Robert Allen's sectoral grammar (particularly for the elementary schools),

Pike's tagmemic grammar (particularly with respect to the teaching of composition), and Lamb's stratificational grammar (particularly with respect to the introduction of the semantic component in grammatical analysis).

A second area of knowledge is also exciting, but smaller: how language is learned. Actually the researchers don't know a great deal yet about how a child learns his language, but certain recent studies throw considerable doubt upon imitation and analogy as the only basis. I should want my child's teacher to be at least aware of what is going on in this field of study, if only as a preventive against dogmatism. And I should think that this information would be useful to the secondary teacher as well as to the elementary teacher, particularly when students present problems of second dialect learning.

Third would be the area that linguists call comparative linguistics or typology. My child's teacher would require only the briefest introduction to this area of knowledge, of course, but I should want him to have a minimal appreciation for the kinds of structural differences and categorical differences between English as an Indo-European language and two or three non-Indo-European languages. Although the Whorf-Hoijer hypothesis is controversial (at least in its original form), a teacher can learn much from realizing how differently peoples look at the world around them because of differences in their languages. I think it would be a good thing for my child's teacher not to hold the idea that English somehow offers the best way of saying something. It would be good for him to learn that what English speakers do need not always be done by speakers of some other languages. A teacher acquires proper humility when he discovers that English traps him into specifying time and number even when time and number are irrelevant to his thought, but that the Chinese and the Japanese communicate without this handicap of always having to specify past or present, singular or plural.

Fourth, I should want the teacher to have some time perception with respect to English. Old English was a different kind of language from Modern English, and the story of its structural change into Modern English is as important to a teacher of English as a knowledge of American history is to an American citizen. Here is the real history of the language, but I would not want the teacher to forego an acquaintance with the more superficial aspects of its history, either: its borrowing of words from other languages and the obsolescence and innovation of native words.

Since the use of language is not to demonstrate man's prowess in devising complicated systems but to communicate meaning, I should want the teacher, in a fifth area, to acquire some knowledge of how language does this and of how words are symbols of meaning. This attention to linguistic semantics need not spill over into the area called general semantics, which more properly is the concern of the social scientists. However, it certainly includes attention to semantic change and hence to the special records of semantic change and variation: the dictionaries. I would want my child's teacher to know something of the history of the English dictionary and of the general principles of modern lexicography if only to be able to consider with reasonable acumen the particular dictionaries available in the classroom. I hope he also would have some basis for evaluating any modern dictionary—including Webster's Third—and hence for helping students to acquire some awareness of a dictionary's rich resources and deliberately maintained limitations.

A sixth area of linguistic knowledge with which the teacher should at least not be unfamiliar, already is wide and is being extended rapidly. This is the area of language variation—variation in space (geographical dialects) and variation in social class (social dialects). The day is long past when the label *dial.* in a dictionary points to a dirty word, or at least one to be scorned. Everyone speaks a dialect, or a mixture of dialects, and the teacher should be aware of their variety. American English has at least three main regional dialects; each has its distinctive features of vocabulary and pronounciation. But no one dialect is inherently superior to any other.

The foundation laid in regional dialect research by the various independent Linguistic Atlas projects provided a sound basis for the current research in social dialects, especially in those of urban centers. The deep current concern with the so-called culturally disadvantaged has placed a heavy burden of responsibility upon research in urban speech to make accurate information available about phonological and morphological subsystems of the nonstandard speakers. I would insist that the teacher be cognizant of the major facts of urban speech differences and of their implications for education.

Seventh, a closely related area is that of social attitudes toward language matters, the area often called simply "usage." It is an area that has been confused with grammar and for years has been marked by vast misunderstanding. I believe, for one thing, that the teacher should have some historical background in this area. From time immemorial, apparently, people have used language differently to rationalize or at least to mark their antipathy to people not members of their particular group. At one time Latinate borrowings were denounced and at another time French borrowings were attacked. Swift disliked shortenings and Samuel Johnson objected to words not formed, as he put it, by analogy. This background is helpful to the teacher who would gain insight into the complexities of present day attitudes toward matters of meaning, pronunciation, and grammar. Since the non-school population, especially the business world, puts a heavy

premium upon these matters, the teacher should have a sound basis for all classroom concerns with usage.

Finally, though one could name other areas of value as well, I would suggest that the teacher have some acquaintance with recent applications of linguistics to the study and appreciation of literature. Certain linguistic findings have now been applied to the study of poetry, particularly as concerns prosody, while others have been applied to the study of prose style.

Whether this paper outlines more than a teacher can reasonably be expected to know is a topic for discussion. To what extent can a teacher obtain this knowledge through in-service education? To what extent can a prospective teacher get it while studying for a degree and a teacher's certificate? Since my position is clear, my answer to these questions is probably predictable. Nevertheless, they remain legitimate questions.

THE NON-STANDARD VERNACULAR OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY: SOME PRACTICAL SUGGESTIONS

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Before we approach any of the theoretical or practical problems connected with the language of the urban ghettos, it is necessary to arrive at some kind of *modus vivendi* with the term "Negro dialect." Many people, including educators, speak of "Negro dialect," while a great many others object to and even deny the existence of such a form. Furthermore, there is considerable resistance within the school systems to any mention of the particular characteristics of Negro students or Negro speech.

First, it is obvious that there is no one speech form, and no linguistic markers common to all Negro people. There is no racial, genetic, or physiological feature involved here. There is a culturally inherited pattern which has been transmitted to the centers of most northern cities by migrants from the South, most of whom happen to be Negroes. In fact, most of the forms heard in the Northern ghettos are also used by some white Southerners. However, it is likewise a fact that since the Negro residents of northern cities are the chief representatives of these southern regional traits for white Northerners, these traits have lost their geographical significance, and have taken on the social significance of identification with the Negro ethnic group.

Not all Southern features survive in the Northern ghettos; a selected set of them are common, while others tend to disappear. The most extraordinary fact is that in city after city the result is so similar. The speech of Negro children in Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, or Los Angeles is cast in much the same mold, and the differences that do appear can be traced to differences in the surrounding dialect of the white community.

We are currently engaged in a study of the structural and functional differences between the non-standard English of the urban vernacular and the standard English of the schoolroom.[1] In several publications, we have provided some preliminary information on the principal structural conflicts involved here, and on some of the immediate consequences for the teaching of reading.[2] Though I will not attempt to summarize this data here, it will be useful to think of these alternations under four general headings:

1. There are a number of systematic differences in the sound patterns which have little grammatical significance. For example, there is an asymmetrical neutralization of **O** and **f** in final position,[3] so that **Ruth** is merged with **roof.**

2. A much more important set of phonological differences intersect grammatical features; along this phonological-grammatical intersection lie the most important problems for teachers of speech and reading. The simplification of consonant clusters operates so that **muss** and **must** are homonyms, but also **miss** and **missed.** The phonological process which eliminates final and preconsonantal **r** and **l** is deeply involved with the grammatical problems of the copula and the future, respectively. We have dealt with this topic more than any other in our previous publications.

3. A fairly obvious set of morphological differences might be singled out: plurals such as **mens, teeths** or metathesized forms such as **aks** for **ask.** Although these forms are quite resistant to alternation with the standard forms, they do not belong to a highly organized system in equilibrium which challenges linguistic analysis.

4. There are many syntactic rules by which non-standard Negro English differs from standard English. Some, like the optional deletion of the copula in **He with us,** are commonplace and are easily converted to the standard form by speakers. But many other syntactic differences are governed by deep-seated and abstract rules. Embedded yes-no questions such as **I asked Alvin if he knew** appear as **I asked Alvin did he know.** In this case we are dealing with two alternate realizations of an underlying question element: the use of **if** with declarative order, as opposed to no **if** with the inverted order of auxiliary and subject. This non-standard form is surprisingly regular and resistant to conversion to the standard form. The

comparative produces a wealth of complex forms very different from standard English: **He runs the same fast as Jim can run.** But, as interesting and complex as such syntactic rules may be, they cannot be considered as important as the items described under 2. above, which will undoubtedly draw the major share of pedagogical attention for some time to come.

At this point it may be proper to ask just how deep-seated and extensive are the differences between the non-standard and standard forms we are considering. There are various viewpoints on this subject: some scholars believe that the underlying phrase structures and semantics of non-standard Negro English are quite different from standard English and that they reflect the influence of an hypothesized earlier Creole grammar. Others believe that this English dialect, like all other dialects of English, is fundamentally identical with standard English, and differs only in relatively superficial respects. One way to look at this argument is to ask whether differences in surface structure—the order of words and the forms they assume—are greater or less than the differences in the most abstract generative rules.

It is not important that we attempt to resolve this issue here. Our own research is concerned more with discriminating the relative depth or abstractness of the rules which govern various forms. It may be useful to indicate the results of one investigation we have recently conducted into the ability of Negro boys to imitate sentences. These trials are conducted as memory tests, in which groups of Negro boys that we know well, 10 to 14 years old, are given very strong motivation to try to repeat sentences exactly. Such tests have been carried out before with young children 3 to 6 years old, but no one has studied imitation or "shadowing" of older children across a dialect boundary.

We find that some boys are moderately good at repeating standard sentences, even very long ones, while a good many others find great difficulty with standard sentences and do better in reproducing the non-standard sentences. The greatest interest for us lies in the differential ability of children with different rules. If we consider the copula, for example, in sentences like **Larry is older than George and George is a friend of mine,** we observe very little difficulty in the preservation of the **is.** In our first trials, 21 out of 22 such copulas were given back to us in the standard form. But if we consider the problem of negative concord, which produces such sentences as **Nobody never know nothing about no game today,** we find a different situation. In about half of the cases, the sentences were repeated to us with non-standard negative concord. **Nobody ever said that** becomes **Nobody never said that** and one can insistently re-emphasize the standard form with little change produced in the boys' repetitions. Similarly, sentences such as **He asked if I could go to the game today** are repeated instantly without hesitation as **He asked could I go to the game today.** Such results indicate that the deletion of the copula is a relatively superficial rule which occurs relatively late in the grammar, and alternates easily with the undeleted form; the other cases show more fundamental differences in the compulsory rules of the transformational component of the grammar.

We can draw a further set of conclusions from the results of this work. Consider for a moment what is implied about the competence of the speaker who repeats instantly **He asked could I go** when we say **He asked if I could go.** His sentence may be considered a mistake for which he is penalized in the testing procedure. But what kind of a mistake? It is the correct vernacular form corresponding to the standard form; it means the same thing as the standard form. To produce this non-standard sentence the listener must first understand the standard form, automatically convert it to an abstract representation, and produce his own form by a complex series of rules ultimately appearing as **He asked could I go.** We cannot explain this response by imagining that the listener is trying to remember individual words or failing to match one word to another in the right sequence. This phenomenon is a convincing demonstration of the abstract character of the language mechanism involved, and it also indicates that the structure of Negro non-standard English is quite complex. For many rules, there are two perceptual routes but only one production route. In this case the teacher's task will be to supply the necessary practice in producing sentences by rules which are already well established in the perceptive apparatus.

We may wish to turn our attention now to the important and complex question of a relative evaluation of the two forms of English being considered here. Our studies of language within the speech community indicate that the evolution of language is strongly influenced by sets of social values consciously or unconsciously attributed to linguistic forms by the adult members of the community. So far, each of the studies that we have carried out indicate that there is greater agreement on the normative side than in speech performance, and the Negro community is no exception. Our subjective reaction tests show extraordinary uniformity in the unconscious evaluation of the non-standard forms by all sections of the Negro community, middle-class and working class, of northern or southern origin.

With the rise of strong nationalist feelings in the Negro community, some observers have thought that separate linguistic norms would appear and that the non-standard vernacular of the urban ghettos would be treated more positively by the leaders of the Negro community. In actual fact, this has not been so; and

there is little reason to think that it will be the case in the future. The norms of correct speech are the same for the Negro community as for the white community. Although various groups may move in different directions in their informal, spontaneous, and intimate styles, they converge in their attitude on appropriate forms for school and for public language. Suggestions have been received that a reading primer be prepared in the vernacular in order to accelerate the process of learning to read. The results of our investigations throw considerable doubt on the acceptability of such a program. The Negro adults we have interviewed would agree almost unanimously that their children should be taught standard English in school. Any other policy would probably meet with strong opposition.

This unanimity is a characteristic of the adult community, however; we obtain no such uniform pattern from teenagers. When we consider that a child learns his basic syntax from 18 to 36 months, and by eight years old has settled most of the fine points of phonology and morphology, it is surprising to discover how late in life he acquires the adult pattern in the evaluation of language. Children learn early that there is careful and casual style, and they are perfectly able to recognize the teacher's special style; but the wider social significance of dialect differences seems to be hidden from them to a surprising extent. Clearly one approach to facilitating the learning of standard English is to accelerate the acquisition of evaluative norms. By the age of 25 almost everyone comes to realize the import of language stratification, but by then, of course, it is difficult to change patterns of language production.

Our subjective reaction tests are designed to determine the unconscious evaluation of individual variables within the dialect pattern. The first evaluation scales devised allow the listener to place the speaker along a scale of job suitability: Speaking as he did, what was the highest job that a person could hold? In our work in Harlem we have added other scales which register converse attitudes: If the speaker were in a street fight, how likely would he be to win? How likely is it that the speaker would become a friend of yours?

As we expected, complementary sets of values are attributed to most non-standard forms. To the extent that the use of a certain form, such as fricative **th** in **this thing,** raises a speaker on the job scale, it lowers him on the scale of toughness or masculinity. These opposing values are equally strong in all social groups: we find that the middle-class adults are most consistent in attributing both sets to a given group of speakers.

We have long been aware of the fact that the non-standard forms are supported by the values of group identity and opposition to middle-class norms which are strong among working-class people. The recent results of our subjective reaction tests suggest that the school system may actually be supporting this opposition or even inculcating it. The adolescent boy knows that there is no correlation in fact between toughness and the use of non-standard English; he knows a great many bad fighters who have perfect command of the vernacular, and many good fighters who do fairly well with school language. But the teacher is not as keenly aware of the limitations of her stereotypes. I think it quite possible that while she attempts to teach the middle-class values of good English, she is simultaneously conveying the notion that good English is inconsistent with the toughness and masculinity so highly valued by adolescent boys. Teaching programs should be carefully examined by men raised in the community who can help detect and eliminate the association of standard English with effeminacy, gentility, and over-cultivation. It seems to be true that a perfect command of standard English weakens one's grasp of the vernacular; I have met no one who excelled in both forms. But I think it is important to minimize the loss, and particularly important to minimize the opposition of middle-class and working-class values which has come to cluster about the language issue in such a stereotyped manner.

A great deal of our current research is concentrated upon the functional conflict between standard and non-standard English. It is too early to make any strong statements in this direction, although we believe that the most important educational applications will stem from an understanding of differences in the use of language. It is worth pointing out that most language testing which takes place within the schools gives a very poor indication of the overall verbal skills of the children being tested. In an adult-dominated environment – the school, the home, or the recreation center – many children have learned elaborate defensive techniques which involve a minimum of verbal response. Monosyllabic answers, repressed speech, special intonation contours are all characteristic of such face-to-face testing situations. As a result, great quantities of public funds are being spent on programs designed to supply verbal stimulus to "non-verbal" children. Here the notion of cultural deprivation is surely faulty, for it is based on a mythology that has arisen about children who receive very little verbal stimulus, who seldom hear complete sentences, who are supposed to be culturally empty vehicles. However, if the task were only to fill a cultural vacuum, it would be much easier than it actually proves to be.

In our research, we frequently encounter children who behave in a face-to-face encounter with adults as if they were "non-verbal." But when we utilize our knowledge of the social forces which control language behavior, and stimulate speech with more sophisticated techniques, the "non-verbal" child disappears. These children have an extremely rich verbal culture; they are proficient at a wide range of verbal skills, even though many of these skills are unacceptable within the school program. The problem is to teach a different

set of verbal skills—ones used for different purposes. However, the teacher should be absolutely clear in her knowledge that she is opposing one verbal culture with another.

In conclusion, I might suggest one implication of our studies of language use which might have value within the school system. Intelligence and verbal skill in the culture of the street is prized just as highly as it is within the culture of the school, but the use of such skills on the street is more often to manipulate and control other people than to convey information to them. Of course it is the school's task to emphasize the value of language in cognitive purposes. But in order to motivate adolescent and pre-adolescent children to learn standard English, it would be wise to emphasize its value for handling social situations, for avoiding conflict (or provoking conflict when desired), for influencing and controlling other people. This is the use for which verbal skills are already valued in the vernacular culture, and it seems to be good strategy to take advantage of these present values even while one is modifying them and teaching new ones. Long before the child has learned the full range of middle-class educational values, he must make a good start in mastering the fundamental rules of standard English. Any strategy which gives him strong motivation for reading and writing in standard English should be followed; we are all too familiar with the fact that success or failure in these fundamental skills is an important determinant of success or failure in the school program as a whole.

NOTES

[1]This research is supported by the United States Office of Education as Cooperative Research Project 3288.

[2]Labov, William; Cohen, Paul; and Robins, Clarence. *A Preliminary Study of the Structure of English Used by Negro and Puerto Rican Speakers in New York City*. Cooperative Research Project No. 3091, United States Office of Education, 1965.

Labov, William. "Some Sources of Reading Problems for Negro Speakers of Non-Standard English." *New Directions in Elementary English*. (Edited by Alexander Frazier.) Champaign, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1967.

Labov, William, and Cohen, Paul. "Some Suggestions for Teaching Standard English to Speakers of Non-Standard Urban Dialects." *Oral Language for Speakers of Non-Standard English*. Chapter V. Submitted to the Bureau of Curriculum Research for the Board of Education of the City of New York, 1967.

[3]This feature, like many such purely phonological differences, is of little pedagogical significance. By "asymmetrical" I mean that **Ruth** is heard as **roof,** but not vice-versa. Negro speakers seldom confuse the two classes of words, since they do not give hypercorrect **roof** as **rooth.** The distinction is quite hard to hear consistently, even for white speakers.

THE GRAMMARS OF ENGLISH

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Two decades ago most English teachers would have greeted with incredulity a title, "The Grammars of English." Many of them were aware of minor differences between one textbook series and the next, but quite rightly would have considered such differences unworthy of serious attention at a meeting such as this. Only a very small minority knew of the existence of scholarly grammars such as those of Jespersen and Poutsma. Still fewer knew that these differed among themselves as well as from the grammar taught in the American schools. Moreover, even had they heard of them, not very many would have considered such facts of any significance.

One decade ago the picture had changed appreciably. A much larger number of teachers, though still a minority, would have heard, perhaps only as rumors of distant oddities, of a new kind of grammar. Paul Roberts' *Patterns of English* had appeared, and a few bold teachers were trying it. Here and there, proponents of the "two grammars" debated in professional meetings but few saw the issues at all clearly. Most members of the profession went undisturbed about their teaching of literature and composition, periodically dropping these challenging pursuits to put in their time routinely paying respects to the eight parts of speech, *lie* and *lay*, and cabalistic diagramming. Grammar was, for most of them, a side issue of minimum interest or importance.

The year 1957 also saw the appearance of Noam Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures*, making generally available for the first time a new approach to grammar. It soon acquired both a wide following and a quite undeserved reputation for difficulty. For too many it was esoteric truth, unintelligible to ordinary mortals, but certainly the coming thing.

After a slow start, a bandwagon movement developed, "structural" lost its prestige, and "transformational" became the "in" label with the *avante garde*. There soon grew up the myth that there were three grammars, "traditional," "structural," and "transformational," representing in that order three degrees of progression into the mysteries of the new cult. This gives a neat and orderly view of what might otherwise have seemed chaos; as such it has much to recommend it to the English teaching profession. Unfortun-

ately, such a view never was true. Some of the chaos was real, for genuine scholarship always has a streak of confusion, of debate, of open contradiction. Some of the chaos was quite artificial, the result of a failure to understand the ways of grammarians or to see only the surface without penetrating to the underlying objectives and assumptions.

Today this view is becoming less and less true and even more rapidly less and less satisfying as an ordering of the facts. There is not any small number of discrete types of grammars in English. The attempt to list and classify in this way must be abandoned. Let me note why this is so.

Hark back to Paul Roberts' *Patterns of English*, the harbinger of many diverse "new grammar" textbooks. It did not represent a grammar, but was an eclectic blending of two, being based on C. C. Fries' *The Structure of English* and G. L. Trager, and H. L. Smith, Jr.'s *An Outline of English Structure*. These are quite disparate, not only in details but also in some matters of basic orientation. They have two significant things in common, however: both authors were members of that mysterious profession, linguistics, and they both agreed in rejecting school grammar. Structural grammar, then, has been polymorphous from the beginning. Textbooks labeled as within this area have universally been eclectic (for me, not necessarily a bad thing). Efforts to formulate for the English profession principles on which structuralism has been based have always emerged as spineless generalities or statements only partially acceptable, for there have been few basic points both distinctive and widely held among structuralists.

Traditional grammar also has been incredibly diverse. Jespersen and Poutsma differ, again not merely in details but in their basic framework. This diversity has not penetrated, however, into the American school. Toward the end of the last century quite a consensus was worked out, and the grammar taught in the schools has been fairly uniform in fundamentals ever since. If this is to be called traditional grammar at all, it must always be remembered that it represents only one variety, and a specialized one at that.

For a few years after 1957, transformational-generative grammar was also a homogeneous set of ideas, notations, terminologies, and the little conventions of behavior that mark a young and self-conscious movement. *Syntactic Structures* was the standard of reference and the test of orthodoxy. But history moves fast and soon differences began to appear, at first minor, but later in the form of divergencies in interpretation of fundamentals. Although differences were debated in the Linguistic Society meetings, in graduate classrooms, and in the technical journals, they hardly showed on the surface of the movement as it was visible to the non-linguist. "Transformational-generativism" seemed to be a monolithic giant, growing rapidly, and sweeping all opposition before it. Actually, within the movement there was seething activity and at least minor schisms. Today uniformity has disappeared and differences are widening. There is every expectation that the process will continue until "transformational-generativism" represents at least as broad a range as "traditionalism" or "structuralism."

Meanwhile, other approaches are developing. Two have attracted the attention of the English profession in America. Tagmemics is the best known of these. So far there has been little in the way of actual grammatical treatment of English, either in formal grammars or in school textbooks, but the publications of a series by Robert Allen are scheduled. As you know, there has been much discussion, mostly quite programmatic, of the applications of tagmemics to the analysis of literature and the teaching of composition.

Even less visible, though occasionally hinted at, is stratificational grammar. Work, mostly on various exotic languages, is proceeding and progress is being made. There is some promise for the future usefulness of this theory in English studies. But it is certainly premature to suggest that the English teaching profession should consider stratificational grammar as a present option. Neither of these movements is, of course, a single position. For example, Robert Allen differs in some significant ideas from Kenneth Pike.

While each of these broad schools of grammatical lore is proliferating and diversifying, each is accepting more from the others. The lines, therefore, are blurring slowly, and we may expect them to continue to do so. Traditionalism, the oldest, has a built-in bias toward eclecticism anyway; thus it is leading the way. Baxter Hathway's recent book is, I think, best labeled as traditional. Yet it bears the title *A Transformational Syntax*, and the title indicates something of its eclecticism. Another recent work, claiming to be traditional, is Ralph Long's *The Sentence and Its Parts*. Certainly, it can find a place within a general movement broad enough to include both Poutsma and Jespersen, but equally certainly it has been deeply influenced by modern linguistic thinking at many points. That continental European traditional grammarians also are acquainted with the work of other schools and make use of it can be seen, for example, by an occasional reference in W. R. Zandvoort's *A Handbook of English Grammar*, and, even more clearly, in some of the articles in journals.

Transformationalists and structuralists are making more and better use of the traditionalist literature, though still tending to look on these older books more as rich lodes of examples than as sources of insights. And finally, structuralists and transformationalists are increasingly taking account of each other's work, though many on both sides still like to preserve the facade of implacable hostility.

So far, I have been talking largely about technical

publications on English grammar, about reference handbooks and textbooks for college and graduate school courses. What about the school textbooks?

In the first place, the eclectic tradition established with Paul Roberts' *Patterns of English* has flourished. His *English Sentences* (still, I think, the best of his many books) is even more frankly eclectic. There are several more recent books in this tradition, and only very recently have there appeared books that profess to take a more or less pure line. Paul Roberts' *English Syntax* is perhaps the best known of these.

Together with this tendency toward eclectic "new grammar" approaches, the subtle but perceptible influence of modern work on some of the books that have not detached themselves from the school tradition, is worth noting. One type is exemplified by John E. Warriner and Francis Griffith's *English Grammar and Composition: Complete Course* which in 1965 added 31 pages under the title "A New Look at Grammar." Others show scattered influences throughout their books, sometimes only faintly, sometimes quite strongly. We can reasonably expect this to increase and thus we shall see school grammar moving perceptibly away from its older position.

As I have mentioned, school grammar stands out among traditional grammars as a very specialized type. It has developed in the school *milieu*, and in so doing has come to terms with the American school system—more specifically, with certain attitudes of the frontier-oriented American educational establishment. This was a system that purveyed answers rather than raised questions, and simple answers at that. Its interest in grammar, as in so many subjects, was purely instrumental, and easily shifted into matters of language etiquette and cultivation of language habits as status symbols or a device for social climbing. Grammar became a close body of knowledge with a minimum of internal cohesion and was presented from a highly dogmatic stance. Teachers were expected to know little more than what was in the syllabus, but to accept this unquestioningly. The whole subject became mechanical, and so intellectually trivial.

Structuralism came to the schools as a protest against all of this, and its consequences soon began to show. In a few places it became inordinately committed to positions attractive mainly because they were polar opposites of the old: for example, the use of frames for defining parts of speech. It became too easily identified with terminological innovations, most notoriously "Class One Word" for "noun." Finally, it became associated with a number of gimmicks for teaching, notably the use of jabberwocky to demonstrate the significance of structural signals. Much of the original energy of the movement was diverted into devices simply pedagogical, many of which were of a kind easily run into the ground. And in this rather special way, structuralism made its accommodation to the anti-intellectualism of the schools.

We are now beginning to discern the accommodation of transformationalism. It seems to be taking quite the opposite turn from that of its immediate predecessor, and I fear that this is in some ways a return to the patterns of school grammar. We seem to be witnessing the establishment of a kind of school transformationalism bearing the same relation to the professional linguistic work with which it is commonly confused as does school traditionalism to the work of Poutsma and Jespersen. This is emerging as a sort of modern grammar embodied in several textbooks and more often in the teaching of some who have a superficial acquaintance with linguistics.

This grammar has the following characteristics: It has been simplified in concept and notation. It has been dogmatized. It is presented by rote, as ultimate, incontestable, and essentially complete truth. It bypasses almost everything of any interest or significance. There is every reason to believe that a school transformationalism can be fully as stultifying as anything in school traditional grammar. I suspect that it will be so, just as soon as the Hawthorne effect is no longer working for it.

The exact shape that this will take in the long run, I cannot say. But currently it seems to be more or less fossilized at the *Syntactic Structures* stage, using passive, negative, and question transformations (all optional); forming complex and compound sentences by generalized transformations; and blissfully sidestepping all complications of morphophonemic and semantic components. Moreover, it tends to misread Chomsky completely on certain crucial points: for example, making much of "kernel sentences" as the objects on which transformations operate. It leaves implicit most problems of agreement or selectional restrictions, though parroting arguments of superiority based on explicitness. Whatever may be your view of the alleged virtues of transformational-generative grammar as set forth in the *Syntactic Structures* or in later writings of responsible advocates, it remains a fact that, essentially, none of these arguments can legitimately be applied to such a caricature as described above, anymore than an argument for the high value of Jespersen and Poutsma transfers undamaged to the mishmash presented in the seventh grade from the poorest old-fashioned series by an uncomprehending teacher. Let me repeat: arguments about the relative merits of different systems of grammar are irrelevant when we are dealing with emasculated school versions, poorly taught.

While much of the "new grammar" taught in the schools today is seriously defective, such is not inevitably the case. Along with the trend toward a trivialized school transformationalism, there is an increasing amount of responsible teaching of a far more adequate kind of transformational-generative grammar. In rela-

tion to this, the recent publication of Peter Rosenbaum and Roderick Jacobs' *Grammar 1* and *Grammar 2* is a significant event. These little books represent a much more updated version of the theory. There is genuine theoretical sophistication in the authorship. There is much less of the false simplicity so common. These books will require a more knowledgeable teacher than some of the competing materials, of course, but they should be much more satisfying to such a teacher. Although I have as yet no information as to their success in the classroom, I should expect them to be at least moderately successful but would not be surprised if there are some rough spots. It is a difficult task to take ideas out of the graduate seminar and present them effectively for the high school student. There is a temptation both to underadapt (produce only a trimmed-down university course) and to over-adapt (trivialize the content by avoiding certain crucial but difficult concepts). I select *Grammar 1* and *Grammar 2* for this attention because they represent a responsible effort to cut substantially the time lag between research results and their school interpretation. Such an effort is an essential component of curriculum reform; more efforts of the same kind are needed, both in transformational-generative grammar and in other theoretical frameworks.

Grammar has traditionally been the complete substance, essentially, of the language component in the upper grades. This can no longer continue. There must be a greater emphasis on building an understanding of the nature of language, of its many functions, of its variation in time, space, and social position, and of the techniques used to study it. It is true that grammar must have a central place in such understanding, because it deals with the central fact about language: that it is a highly structured set of patterns. But grammar can no longer monopolize.

The meaning of this judgment is that a grammar sequence must be built with a number of non-grammatical curricular objectives in mind. The textbook writer or curriculum planner has available a considerable number of basic types of grammatical theories and the possibility of an almost endless variety of eclectic systems which combine these theories in various ways. This freedom of choice is valuable, because the writer/planner must also face the intricacies and ramifications of problems of pedagogical adaptation. Too, he must build a base for the wider linguistic concepts now demanding curricular attention. The choice is broad, but not entirely free; in my opinion, there are some demands that must be met for a really adequate course of study. I can only mention three such issues: generative grammar; transformational grammar; and supra-sentence grammar.

The term "generative" is used in various ways. I here apply it to grammars that seek high explicitness through formal organization and algebraic statement. I assume that any generative grammar can also be stated in another less formal and less specialized way, though not necessarily vice-versa. From the school point of view, generative grammar has both strong advantages and strong disadvantages. On the one hand, a generative grammar, because of its specialized nature, is of very limited usefulness or at least of exceedingly awkward application to many practical problems, such as the interpretation of given sentences or the analysis of style. Yet many of these are important in the schools. A generatively stated grammar is difficult to expand or contract, to focus on specific problems, and so is poorly adapted to inductive or spiral teaching. On the other hand, generative statement does throw into relief certain properties of language that should be discussed, and does so even more with regard to certain properties of grammars.

It would seem, therefore, that schools must present more than one grammar. The most effective scheme would seem to be something like the following: After a few years of what might be called "pre-grammar" in the lower elementary grades, grammar instruction should begin with non-generative grammar, and, to the largest extent practical, be taught inductively. The current annual repetition should be cut drastically, providing greater coverage and depth than is now usual. Then, somewhere in high school the generative organization and format should be introduced, using a fairly sophisticated model. Attention at this point could be focused on the form of grammar and its implications, since the content would already be largely known. At this level, one major objective would be to produce some critical understanding of what grammars are and of the strengths and limitations of different models of grammar. Thereafter, any grammar teaching should be largely applied—to the interpretation of literature, for example, or to an understanding of certain sociolinguistic problems. Such teaching would be free to use either generative or non-generative statement, as they seemed appropriate.

Transformational grammar is open to a range of interpretations also. I would like to use it here in the broadest possible way: to cover any grammar that deals seriously with the interrelations of sentence types. As transformational-generative linguists have repeatedly pointed out, this notion is not wholly foreign to any traditional grammar; and such grammar can be broadened to accommodate a fairly systematic account. Tagmemic grammars (as used in many exotic languages) have given a central place to these relationships; the same could be done in English. Paul Roberts' *English Sentences* is a good example of a basically structuralist approach which embraces transformations. The treatments do not always look the same, but they do deal in effectively equivalent ways with the same material.

In this sense, then, many types of grammars can be transformational. The grammar used in the schools must be, among other things, transformational, because only this grammar gives a base for careful examination of style. But there is no necessity for the curriculum to be built on any specific type of transformational grammar, that of *Syntactic Structures*, for example, or of any subsequent model in the same tradition. Moreover, sentence relationships must be treated in increasing depth and variety through most of the sequence; hence, both without and within the generative format.

One salutary development in recent times has been to give greater attention to the sentence and less to individual words. This has made the grammar more useful, and probably more teachable. Unfortunately, many linguists have claimed that the sentence is the necessary upper limit of linguistic structure, and so have dampened any effort to extend the scope of language instruction to still larger units. I think this restriction is wrong in principle and short-sighted in practice. There are linguistic patterns which transcend sentence limits and they are in some respects more important than those which do not. I suspect that school children need more help with some of these patterns than with sentence structure—both in their own writing and in their reading of highly literary language. Although we have not been able in the past to give much help here—we are beginning to understand these patterns much better. They are coming to be feasible and worthwhile inclusions in the school curriculum, even though hardly mentioned in any of the grammars currently available as worked-out systems.

I started by saying that there is no short list of grammars from which a choice can be made for the schools; rather, there is a great mass of intergrading types of grammars—and more appearing. I must end by saying that the choice should not be made from these. Instead, a suitable grammar for the schools must be built eclectically, partly out of long familiar elements, partly out of elements just now becoming available, and partly out of elements which must be sought by new research in the immediate future. Moreover, this research must in part be stimulated by the needs of the schools, perhaps even commissioned by curricular agencies.

I doubt that there is one solution: the ideal grammar. It is absolutely clear that we are not at liberty to put together any combination of elements that meets our fancy. The selection must be controlled by various constraints, some linguistic, some pedagogical. Thus the task is neither for linguists, nor for educators, but for linguists and educators together.

A SPACE-AGE FABLE

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Once upon a time, an *ad hoc* committee of reading specialists with an NDEA grant and a hoist from NASA, blasted me off to another galaxy to lecture on linguistics and the teaching of reading. The lectures were in real time, but the space travel out and back was in light years. I became the first space-age Rip Van Winkle.

Upon my return, remarkable progress had been made in the study of language and language learning, and in teaching the arts and skills of English. This progress was all the more remarkable because it now included reading, now fruitfully associating with the other English language arts, and all were harmoniously language-centered. Although characterized by a variety of multimedia learning materials and instructional practices, the fields of English, reading, and the language arts had become a single, unified discipline.

It was called, simply, "English."

No dividing lines cut across the N-12 continuum; school and community commonly interacted and occasionally merged. In college and university the immemorial Balkan subdivisions of warring principalities had given way to a loose confederacy; borders between academic states were no longer fortified, and some had virtually disappeared. A few professors moved about freely within the confederacy, some enjoying full citizenship in two or more states. A liberal student visa policy permitted students to cross state boundaries, study for a time, and return without loss of face. Exchange rates favored the students. There were no more armed truces; wars between the states had become so boring that only an occasional centenarian sounded ancient alarms. Town and Gown were already redeveloping their original educational park. Halcyon day!

Perhaps such a multidisciplinary approach is light years removed from present concerns with our inviolable territorial rights as isolated departments and colleges, with the jurisdictional security we try to maintain by fortifying and patrolling the boundaries that divide us. If so, we may as well gaze into interstellar space and await what may transpire with the passage of time. A professional solution can be reached in our lifetime, however, provided we are ready to consider our problems in the light of the values we seek in English education.

Questions of Value

What values do we seek to realize in our teaching of English and the language arts? We Americans are sup-

posed to be great at know-how, the practical means of getting the job done; but we are sometimes contemptuous of the theory which could sharpen our perspective toward that job. Adequate theory might also help us discover jobs we should be doing but are neglecting. Solving our professional problems requires more than know-how; it requires know-what and know-why. These last are questions of the theory, or philosophy, of English teaching.

The great question: What is the essential nature of language? What is its true role in human cultures and subcultures? (I am not fond of the term "subculture," but if we take it to mean simply a smaller culture embedded in a larger culture—an embedded culture coextensive with a speech community—"subculture" need not have a pejorative tone.)

We also need to ask other questions: What is English? Why teach English? Can we develop a theory (or a philosophy) of English teaching? What is the nature of the English teacher's role? What should the English teacher do? What should the English teacher not do? What is the professional identity of the English teacher?

These questions are suggestive. In the following exploratory discussion some of them will be directly confronted; others will be approached obliquely. They are intended to open discussion of fundamental professional concerns.

The Nature of Language

In its largest sense, linguistics is the modern study of language, a spacious subject. As an objective way of looking at the central and most characteristic achievement of mankind—language and the uses of language—linguistics originated in and emerged from anthropology. The study of language and its uses is the most comprehensive of the humanities; moreover, it is fundamental to other human studies. It is language that makes man man and offers a basis for hope that human life can become indeed human, that one day human societies may become truly human.

Every English teacher should deeply understand the centrality of language in human life and human culture. Insights contributing to this understanding may come from anthropological linguistics, biolinguistics, philosophical linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, applied English linguistics—from life itself, including the interpersonal relationship of student and teacher which can be a means of studying language by exploration. Those of us responsible for the education of English teachers should concern ourselves with the attainment of these insights, not with jurisdiction over them. The study of language is the most interdisciplinary of all studies; it is in fact multidisciplinary.

Developmental Causes and Effects

Biolinguistics. Some understanding of the physiological equipment used in speech is helpful in appreciating the developmental nature of language in human growth and development. All human beings use the same biological organs to produce all the sounds of thousands of languages; but there are no "speech organs" used either primarily or exclusively for the production of speech sounds. Quite the contrary: every one of the so-called "speech organs" must first be developed through its use in basic biological function before it is capable of playing its part in the production of language. The human infant and child must first learn how to cry, cough, suck, bite, chew, swallow, and burp before he can produce the consonant and vowel sounds of language; before he can control the vibrations of his vocal folds, or initiate and terminate the speech stream; before he can learn how to impart rhythm to his speech; before he can speak in native melodies and tunes.

If we isolate their limited functions in language, the speech organs have some resemblance to the various parts of a musical wind instrument. The breathing system as a whole contains and controls the stream of air that emerges from the oral and nasal openings as speech. At one end of this wind instrument lies the diaphragm, a powerful layer of tendon and muscle separating the abdominal and chest cavities; although most of its action is involuntary, the diaphragm can be controlled in speech to act as a bellows in concert with the musculature of the rib cage. In speaking English, this bellows is developed, through practice, to impart a stress-timed rhythm to our speech. This rhythm, like all other linguistic symbols, is not instinctive but learned.

Above the diaphragm and within the rib cage, the lungs supply the column of air that becomes the speech stream; with the bronchial tubes, trachea, larynx, pharynx, oral and nasal openings, they form the resonating chambers that give individuality to the voice. The larynx houses the vocal folds that vibrate (somewhat like a double reed in a bassoon) to produce the air waves that carry the sound of the human voice to the listening ear. This sound is given specific linguistic overtones by the action of the tongue, lips, teeth, and inner surfaces of the mouth in order to produce speech, a communicative system of vocal symbols.

In his first months of life, along with developing the fundamental biological functions of the organs later to be used in talking, the infant normally experiments with prelinguistic intonation (cooing, crowing, crying, lallation, murmuring, singing, whimpering) and with a variety of prelinguistic sounds that resemble vowels and consonants. These are prelinguistic because they are not part of any language system but are produced with only minimal linguistic consciousness or control. However, they are of extraordinary importance as the raw linguistic materials out of which the child will fashion, by selection and rejection, a specific system of

vocal symbols for communication with members of his speech community. Probably between the ages of six months and one year, the human infant begins to make the conversion from the various vocal noises made by all normal human babies to the intricate and very specific structural components of the language to which he was born.

Psycholinguistics and Sociolinguistics

English teachers need a mature understanding of the complex role of language in human growth and development, in personality and individuality, in social role and social-group membership. Language is what in time makes human beings out of human infants. In every culture and subculture, language (dialect) is a complex system of vocal symbols, a specific system that is not instinctive but must be painstakingly learned. Through the processes of acquiring language, every human being becomes intimately linked with his speech community, with his self-image, and his social role, with a sense of his own identity and of belonging. These linkages are emotional and intellectural, neurological and physiological, and above all, familial. They are inextricably enmeshed with his value system: his faith and belief, his hope and fears, his affections and hatreds, his dreams and his nightmares – all are deeply interwoven with his language to become the very fabric of his life. In short, the individual's language is the essential socio-psychological bond that makes him one with his culture or subculture.

It sometimes happens that a well-meaning primary teacher confuses reading instruction with corrective speech, or even with teaching the child to speak a different dialect. Under the guise of teaching phonics, she tries to give him a new set of phonemes, and in more general reading instruction, she tries to teach him a new set of grammatical inflections. Yet all over the world, adult speakers of diverse English dialects read the sounds of their own speech from standard printed English: dialects of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and a dozen or so regional dialects of North America. The young child's dialect, unchanged, can be his immediate bridge to literacy (reading, in particular); we should not bewilder him in his initial approach to reading by attempting to force him to learn a new dialect as a prerequisite. *The two linguistic processes – learning to read and learning to speak a new dialect – cannot be combined without serious danger that both will be jeopardized.*

Anyone who attacks or appears to attack an individual's language (dialect) is immediately understood to be attacking the person himself, attacking his very way of life. This is doubly true if the attacker is the teacher, an appointive official who may represent an alien, even threatening, way of life. A teacher who undertakes to alter deeply ingrained language habits can inflict irreparable damage, especially if she is a teacher who does not have linguistic insights and knowledge, or is one who lacks strong bonds of empathy with the child. Such inept efforts, even if well meant, constitute a direct threat to the individual and will be so taken. On the other hand, the professional teacher's understanding of the meaning of language for each individual will preclude such threatening behavior.

Language learning is voluntary learning. If dialect change is to be effected, each individual must first volunteer to make the change himself. No captive audience in an American classroom, no captive people in a conquered land, have ever been forced to change their language. Language or dialect change must be motivated because it cannot be forced. If the student cannot be persuaded to volunteer such a change, it is unlikely that he will ever consent to change his dialect. Without such consent, however, nothing can be done.

Moreover, it remains an open question whether widespread dialect changes should be attempted at all; i.e., changes beyond the offer of suitable instruction to students who do volunteer for it. An appealing and less expensive alternative would be to rid ourselves of prejudice toward dialects that differ from our own, and to look more deeply into language, man, and society. Besides, the case for onward and upward mobility is not necessarily convincing to everyone. For one thing, the rationale never assumes that to some, moving up the socio-economic scale may simply not be attractive. For another thing, the rationale ignores economic realities, among them the hair-raising prospect of ever-increasing automation. Does anyone seriously believe that the elimination of ghetto dialects will cause the ghettos themselves to disappear?

There is another way to look at dialect change. First, such a change need not involve elimination of any dialect; rather, it should involve mastering a second dialect without sacrificing the first. The essential differences will be in grammatical inflections and syntax rather than in phonemes, although a few phonemic differences may be significant.

Second, the persuasive argument for bi-dialectism, for being able to use both "school talk" and "country talk," for learning standard English as a second language – aside from the convenience of being able to talk out of either side of one's mouth to suit the occasion – is an entirely different argument. It argues that every American child should be helped to gain access to that universe of knowledge and experience expressed in a special dialect, standard written English, which is the only key that can unlock the doors of libraries and the accumulating heritage of human culture and experience embodied in all forms of printed English. Standard written English is a special English, organized for the visual presentation (prose) found in books of all kinds, in magazines and newspapers; in even more specialized forms it is the medium of poetry.

Learning to write standard English will help in learning to read it; the two processes, writing and reading, can be taught so as to emphasize their interaction and thus reinforce the learning of both.

A Model of English as A General Field

It is fashionable to construct elaborate diagrammatic models of psychological processes on the analogy of the electronic computer, with flow-chart visualization of input, output, scanning, feedback, and cybernetic data processing; often this is solemnly intended to be taken literally. The model of English presented below is more in the nature of a metaphor which may suggest some of the complex interrelationships among the "know-what," "know-how," and "know-why" of English teaching and learning.

Under *know-what*, we may visualize language, literature, and rhetoric (composition and speech) as a triangle, with language as the base. Although these components are related to *know-how*, in school programs only rhetoric qualifies. Ideally, rhetoric embraces both oral and written composition and at least two modes of composition: exposition and persuasion.

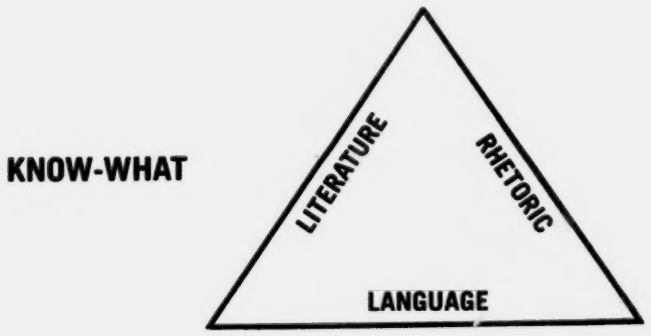

Figure I

Under *Know-how*, we may visualize the four communicative arts skills of speaking, listening, reading, and writing, as a square. The audio-lingual processes (listening and speaking) are the top and bottom sides; the visual-manual processes (reading and writing) are the left and right sides. These four communicative processes may also be thought of as two sending operations (speaking and writing) and two receiving operations (listening and reading).

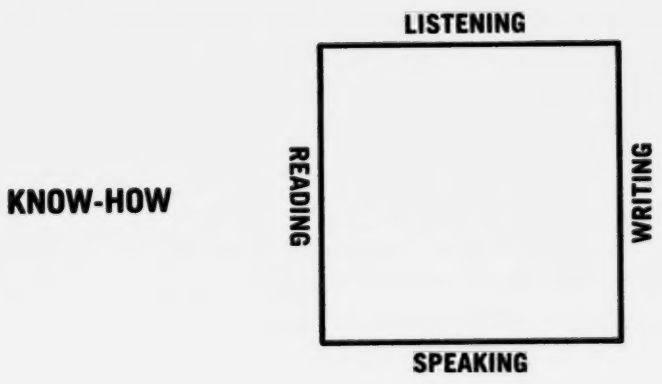

Figure II

Know-why involves the full range of cognitive and affective processes within the individual teacher and student. We may designate them as intellect and emotion, or as brain and heart, without being too literal-minded about it. We may regard intellect and emotion as polar attributes, as antipodes, but they are better understood as interacting processes than as static positions. In English (as elsewhere in life), intellect and emotion blend imperceptibly. We may visualize their polarity and the continuum between extremes as an ellipse with intellect (brain) at one end, and emotion (heart) at the other. Intellectual and emotional processes contribute to a conceptual thought, esthetic enjoyment, and creative experience. The suggestion is that in English, such complex arts and skills as appreciation, creativity, criticism, and performance combine both kinds of processes. We may visualize these high-level arts and skills as a circle within the ellipse that here represents the continuum of intellectual and emotional processes.

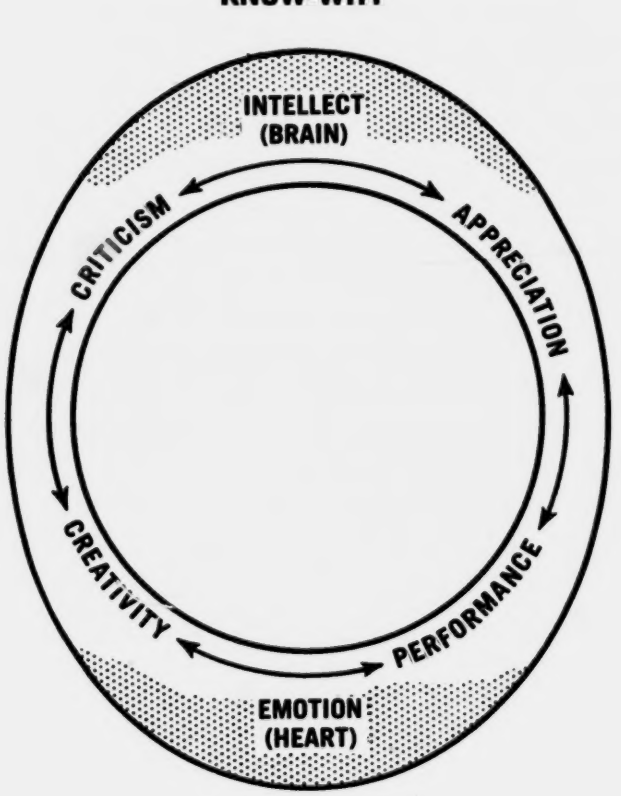

Figure III

Expression of intellect in a nearly pure form may be illustrated by the clear linking-verb sentences used by mathematicians and scientists:

$$X^2 + Y^2 = Z^2 \quad \text{or} \quad E = mc^2$$

As linguistic expressions, such equations are essentially uncolored by emotion, although they may give a measure of esthetic enjoyment. Emotion, or heart, may be illustrated by those intense moments in poems that we sometimes call pure poetry, the best evidence being the chill tingling down the spine of the reader. No poem is all pure poetry; moreover, other literary

modes, although emotionally moving, have relatively less emotional coloring than poetry.

If we want to rank the three "know's" of English in the order of difficulty of acquisition, we would probably place *know-why* first, *know-what* second, and *know-how* third. Actually, English teaching and learning is a variable mix of all three. The following complete metaphorical model illustrates a complex of processes, interrelated and interacting.

KNOW-WHY — KNOW-WHAT — KNOW-HOW

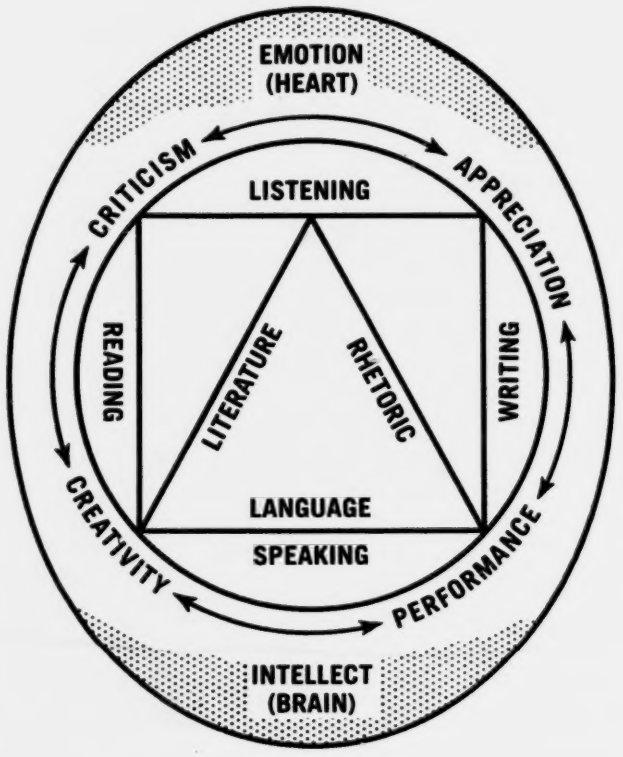

Figure IV

Responsibilities of the English Teacher

The English teacher is responsible for organizing and directing developmental learning experiences in language, literature, and rhetoric—content, forms, media, and techniques. He is also responsible for providing original and continuing stimuli for experiences that contribute to the student's overall development of all the arts and skills of communication—reading, writing, speaking, listening, appreciation, creativity, criticism, performance. He should try to keep abreast of learning theory and be familiar with multimedia learning materials and instructional programs. Specifically, the English teacher is called upon to develop students' abilities to read, write, spell, listen, and to speak both formally and informally.

He should be able to motivate students to work as self-starters. He must make assignments, evaluate work in progress, judge completed work both in its own terms and in developmental terms. He must be able to initiate projects undertaken by individuals and groups, to keep them moving, and bring them to an appropriate conclusion; he should know how to stimulate activity without controlling it, lead discussion without dominating it, explain without telling everything. The classroom English teacher should learn to play the creative, constructive role of day-to-day consultant, helping students toward successful performance of what he initially motivated them to attempt. Sometimes a teacher, always a model, he must be able to lecture when appropriate, chair a meeting, summarize, define, read aloud, interpret orally, compose a variety of communications in both speech and writing. To be able to organize and direct developmental experiences in English for his students, the teacher himself should have enjoyed successes, even though modest, in similar experiences of his own.

Unreconstructed Native Speakers of English as Teachers

A major problem of English teaching is that teachers are frequently unreconstructed native speakers of English. This is to say that many are largely unconscious of the internalized, automatic, language processes acquired before they went to kindergarten; they are largely unconscious of deep-seated attitudes and rules that govern their personal, communicative use of English as well as the "how," "what," and "why" of their teaching of English. This problem of the English teacher is similar to that presented by teachers of other subjects in their approach to English: their attitudes underscore the fallacy that any native speaker of a language is automatically qualified to teach it. What could be further from the truth?

In this respect, every English teacher needs to go through a discipline akin to that of the linguist in order to become sharply conscious of his intuitive language behavior, controls for which lie well below the threshold of consciousness. The English teacher needs to become a *conscious* native speaker, with two parallel tracks in his consciousness and in his use of English: first, a skillful, direct communication by means of the arts and skills of his native tongue in order to provide a living model for his students; second, a sophisticated consciousness of his own language system as well as its contrasts with those of his students so that he can relate successfully to them as their teacher.

Most of us, English teachers and laymen alike, need also to overcome a visual bias toward language that afflicts us all in some degree, probably as an outcome of formal education. It is especially important that the English teacher overcome this bias; he should master the concept and grasp the consequences of the fact that speech is the primary symbol in language learning, and that handwriting and print constitute a secondary system, of truly incalculable importance, but, nevertheless, based upon and derived from speech. He should deeply understand the complex interplay between spoken language and its graphic counterparts and derivative graphic forms. Appreciation of the

interplay of the two symbol systems is fundamental to the development of skills in both rhetoric and reading.

The negative effect of this visual bias is a tendency to regard the standards of English prose as normative for speech as well as writing. This leads in turn to self-defeating prescriptivism in all the arts and skills of English and sets the teacher at odds with his students. English teachers should rid themselves of the mania for "correctness" in spelling, handwriting, and writing mechanics; for "complete sentences" and other oddities and quiddities in classroom conversation and recitation; for in fact, the complete sentences of language organized for visual presentation—prose—are almost never uttered in conversations outside the classroom or in real life anywhere.

Miss Fidditch and Mr. Pringle: The Image of the English Teacher

By renouncing their example, even fledgling English teachers can take revenge on all the Miss Fidditches and Mr. Pringles under whom they and their friends have suffered in English classrooms. Miss Fidditch and Mr. Pringle are locked in the neurotic grip of a cleansing, disinfecting syndrome; using caustics and acids applied with steel wool and stiff brushes, their program is to scrub the oral and written English of all their young charges to within an inch of their lives. Miss Fidditch and Mr. Pringle personify the image of the English teacher as the censor of living language, the fiend for "correct English" who ceaselessly interrupts every child who dares to open his mouth in the classroom; who vigilantly "corrects" in red, with bleeding cuts and slashes, every child who risks putting pen to paper.

Despite the fine work of the best English teachers, the Fidditch-Pringle image, varying somewhat in intensity, has been created by too many teachers in too many classrooms. This image should be erased by a new generation of professional English teachers: teachers who will encourage comfortable, fluent, everyday speech in their classrooms in place of stubborn silence or stilted, miserable recitation; teachers who will encourage lively, modern writing in place of dwarfish, dispirited compositions.

Unless some such sea change comes about in the emotional impact of English teaching as a direct result of such teachers' attitudes, it will matter very little which grammar or which English comes to dominate the curriculum. In English and the language arts, that is, in language and language centered studies, linguistic sensibilities and humane attitudes in the teacher are equal in importance to all the academic learning in the world; indeed, they may be of greater importance. The successful English teacher must deeply understand language and all its potential values. He must practice more than preach.

Of all the many and complex problems facing professionals interested in the education of disadvantaged youth, none is more pressing than the issues involved in language education. While the well-documented problems of the disadvantaged child have underscored a need for a new look at teaching English , the need for teachers of all children to have a better understanding of the nature of language, its function, and its recorded contribution to the culture, seems an especially acute concern, and one which poses many unanswered questions.

The NDEA National Institute for Advanced Study in Teaching Disadvantaged Youth provided impetus and funds for the College of Education of Temple University of the Commonwealth System of Higher Education in Pennsylvania to begin work on this question, especially as it related to three areas of local, yet common, concern: language education; cooperation among the colleges of a university (Temple); and communication among local college personnel and public school people.

The resulting ***Seminar in Language Education for the Disadvantaged*** *proceeded in three stages. The first stage drew together interested personnel within Temple University to discuss the mutual concerns of linguistic education for preservice teachers. The second stage (with which this publication is concerned) brought together public school personnel and higher education personnel, chiefly from the Philadelphia geographic region, to discuss the major questions of language education. The third stage was projected as an attempt to establish a continuing relation among the college staff members from the Philadelphia region.*

This publication comprises position papers prepared by distinguished consultants addressing themselves to the initial questions proposed for the second stage seminar. These papers were distributed a week prior to the meeting, May 17-18, 1967. At the meeting each consultant elaborated on his written work, answered questions, and contributed to the general discussions. After each presentation, small groups met with assigned leaders to work toward a consensus of what the group believed could be taught —and when. The coordinator chaired each general session and gave a short summary of the seminar findings. At the final session, the program director suggested ways of continuing the work started at this conference.

Program Director for the Stage Two seminar was Miriam Wilt, Professor of English Education, Temple University. Coordinator was Robert Hogan, Associate Executive Secretary of the National Council of Teachers of English.

Co-Directors of the entire Temple University Seminar on Language Education for the Disadvantaged are Russell A. Hill and Norma Furst. Richard E. Lawrence is Project Director for the NDEA National Institute for Advanced Study in Teaching Disadvantaged Youth.